

# PEACE NEWS

No. 492 November 16, 1945 2d.

## STATESMEN MUST FOREGO MERE BRAVADO

TRUMAN, Molotov, Bevin and Attlee have spoken; but not Stalin. None of these speeches have worsened the situation, but none have improved it. But the situation is now such that if it is not definitely and deliberately improved it automatically deteriorates.

### THE ARMY IS SIGNED AWAY - FOR GOOD

## Kagawa's hopes of Japan

TOYOHICO KAGAWA is described as "a small man with a ready smile, and forthright, friendly personality" by Manfred Gottfried who interviewed him for "Time" (issue Sept. 24).

Gottfried asked him how Christians had fared during the war.

"We had a terrible time. All Seventh Day Adventist males were arrested. Everybody who believed in the second coming of Christ or the Last Judgment was asked to appear in Court. I was three times arrested. I could not preach."

Told that he had been reported as making anti-US propaganda, Kagawa said he did so intentionally.

"The Americans said that when America won I would become Premier of Japan. That made me and all Japanese Christians traitors. Therefore, intentionally I said America must return to the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. I was sorry I had to come down from international Christianity to national Christianity. I had no choice."

Kagawa said there would probably be five or six parties in the new Parliament, among them liberals, capitalists, socialists.

"But the Army and Navy cannot form a party. They have disappeared. Japan had a good whipping. The Emperor signed away the Army and Navy—permanently. Not just for now, but permanently."

"Japan," he said, "is like Sweden, which was once a very warlike nation. Gustavus Adolphus fought many battles, sometimes win-

ning, sometimes losing, but in the end Sweden found that war was no use.

"All that is past now. Prisons have been made into art galleries. Under the Shogunate Japan had 250 years of peace, developed the tea ceremony, colour prints, love of nature. This terrible war experience shows us that we have made a serious mistake. The atomic bomb was rather a terrible thing, but it also shows how much Japan fell behind by neglecting culture and science. I am organizing a committee to take out all warlike sentences from schoolbooks. We are doing this without the Americans asking us, but I shall ask other nations to do the same."

Asked about wartime Christianity he said:

"The Americans burned down 2,100,000 houses, so the common people don't like Christianity. Thousands of people—250,000—living in dugouts in Tokyo alone . . . March 10th, within three hours, 100,000 people killed in eastern Tokio. Only kindness can revive Christianity not mere words or creeds. Because of prejudice now, I don't often preach. The people need help, not words. Missionaries are no use now unless they help."

"Chiang Kai-shek," he said, "is great. He wins over Japan. He said: 'We shall treat the Japanese people as friends.' So Japanese intellectuals respect Chiang. I wish Soviet leaders would behave like Chiang. The Japanese were beaten to the absolute limit, yet he shows humanitarianism. A good thing."

Of them all Attlee came by far the nearest to the reality of the human predicament when he said:

"We must, I believe, face up to this that unless we can devise human relationships other than those which have obtained through the ages, destruction on an unbelievable scale may fall upon our civilization. In face of the possibility of such a catastrophe how small are the things for which nations in the past have gone to war! One cannot conceive today any extension of territory, any grandiose dream of domination, which has the slightest value in the face of this danger."

But, so far, it makes no difference. Nations are behaving as though the old objectives had their old value and the real danger did not exist.

### The widening gulf

THE whole world is in upheaval. The war has loosed elemental forces which, one feels, will not be brought under control again until or

## Observer's Commentary

unless the whole social and political substance of the world is changed.

There are no principles or powers by which the unleashed forces can be controlled. The ideological gulf between Russia and USA cannot be bridged except by a revolutionary effort at comprehension on both sides. It is extraordinarily difficult even for Britain, which is at least committed to the attempt at democratic Socialism, to get half-way across the gulf which divides her from Russia. How much more is it difficult for the USA which is committed to old-style capitalism!

One racks one's brain for a solution, with the feeling that the world-process

### SAVE EUROPE NOW

## 55,000-in time for Nov. 26

AS preparations are being made for the Albert Hall meeting on Nov. 26, it became known that the response to the original appeal has passed the 55,000 mark.

Tickets for the Albert Hall have not yet been despatched, but already there are indications that they will be sold out.

Ticket-holders are, therefore, asked to return any seats which they are unable to use to 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2, so that none will be wasted.

### IT CAN BE DONE!

In South Australia, at least, "administrative difficulties" do not prevent a scheme of voluntary surrender of rations.

The Times (Nov 9) reports from Adelaide that the Lord Mayor's "Food for Britain" Appeal is now assured of success, with a first subscription list of £20,259, according to the State Premier, who also announced that the Government is giving £10,000 and providing free transport on State railways. The report goes on:

"The public is being asked to give up coupons to enable the Committee to purchase outstanding necessities, and the Lord Mayor has announced that a large number of surrendered coupons for sugar, butter and meat has already reached the rationing commission."

has passed beyond all rational comprehension. Perhaps at some future date there will be a new equilibrium, in a world so changed as to be unrecognizable; or will it only come about after hundreds of millions of human beings have perished in pestilence and atomic war?

### It should be "Priority"

ONE stares at that possibility, until it seems quite fantastic and incredible that Stalin, Truman and Attlee should not be wholly concerned with averting it. What, one asks, does the Russian Revolution matter, what does British independence matter, what does the American way of life matter, compared to the overwhelming necessity of securing mankind against the new war?

Granted that the mass-man in every country is so preoccupied with the trivial round, the common task, that the imminence of a cosmic catastrophe is quite unreal to him, for what purpose are political leaders lifted head and shoulders above the blinded crowds if not to see the human prospect clearly? Are they, too, so pre-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### ATOMIC WARFARE

A DAILY paper reviewing the present world situation writes: "What a commentary the whole thing is on the collective stupidity of men! If there was ever a lesson for the human race to learn it is that future war means the end—literally, soberly the end—of the civilized world as we know it . . . There has never been a greater need than now for leadership by men with a vision." Dick Sheppard was one of such men. His vision and courage were of that quality and calibre which the world needs so desperately now. Dick's first word about war was NO! That was not all he had to say. It was only the starting point.

We have got to begin at that starting point still and someone has to give a lead. We need a prophet with vision to lead the Christian Church of our country in saying NO! to this new weapon which holds all the devastation of previous world wars potentially in a handful of explosive earth. We need a statesman with courage to follow that up by saying YES! in our country's name to world government now.

Most of us are not statesmen or prophets. But we are all needed and we can all help—and all our help is needed. In our Fellowship we don't start from scratch: we have years of experience behind us in this business. But we do need your continued effort and support now more than ever. Our Headquarters' Fund is one channel through which your contribution can be made.

MAUD ROWNTREE,  
ORDER CATCHPOOL,  
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to Headquarters' Fund since Oct. 19: £24 3s. 3d. Year's total to date: £440 12s. 4d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters' Fund" to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## An even finer hour?

plight of the Germans as any of their business, and call, not for decreased, but for increased, rations. The inevitable has now become the impossible.

If we seek to discover why this should be, we are led to a very unpleasant conclusion. The people who, more or less willingly, made sacrifices in wartime, did so because they could not help seeing that such sacrifices were necessary to the winning of the

by CYRIL HUGHES

war. They made them because they were afraid not to make them. Their motive was fear. Because they had to make sacrifices for war, they did so. Because they do not have to make sacrifice in time of peace, they will not do so. The motive no longer exists.

The production of cant is a major wartime industry, and for the last six years the factory has been working at full blast. One of its choicest products was the description of the period of the Battle of Britain as the people's "finest hour." That is an example of the sort of turgid political oratory that invariably regards as courageous what is merely heroic. Britain's "finest hour" was surely not spent in clawing Germans out of the sky! Our finest hour is waiting for us now, if we wish to make it so.

FOR can anybody deny that that proud label will be deserved if Britain acts to-day as those who, in the last resort, love her best hope and pray that she will act? The condition of Europe, especially Germany, provides Britain with the opportunity of acting generously, without hope of gain; courageously, because without fear of the results of inaction; and willingly, because Britain's own plight is such that only an act of will, based on deep moral conviction, can urge her people to go to the aid of those infinitely worse off even than them-

selves. Immediate action, whilst certainly demanded, is not compelled by any outside agency.

The British Empire is not at stake this time. The concentration camp does not loom in the background. The prize is the dignity, the decency, the health, the very lives of fellow human beings who happen to be former enemies. The sacrifice required is, on the one hand, the surrender, if necessary, of a portion of our slender rations; on the other, the re-examination and abandonment of many of the generally accepted ideas on international, political, and human relationships which, indeed, made the war possible at all.

Are the British people big enough to rise to this challenge? The outlook is not too hopeful when one notes, for instance, the purely selfish reaction of many people who see their rations threatened to the action of the dockers in going on strike for more wages; an action which is admittedly coercive, but which, on the level of the industrial struggle, is entirely justified. But there is nothing else to do but hope and urge that generosity shall be allowed to overcome selfishness, and that England, in a greater sense than that in which Pitt meant it, "will save Europe by her example."

It would be unfair to conclude without pointing out that although the issue is primarily a moral one, it is ultimately bound up with self-interest. Morality is, in the long run, self-interest. However much purists may deplore the fact that morality and self-interest run in harness, it is nevertheless a fact, and probably a very vital and desirable one. In this instance, the very structure of peace is at stake here and now.

The next war will be rendered either inevitable or impossible largely by what we do at this moment in Europe. In building peace, one foodship will be worth all the ambassa-

THERE is a very marked morning-after feeling in Britain to-day. The ending of the war and the intoxication of a General Election with an overwhelming Labour victory produced a temporary elation. But already the mists of make-believe are wafting away, and the first alarming signs of a most colossal hangover are emerging.

As is often the case with hangovers, the symptoms are confused and confusing. For instance, there is a tendency to run away from the unaccustomed horrors of peace and seek security in the comfortable conventionality of war. People talk and act as if the war were still on. At the same time, there is the vague but grim realization that the war may only just be beginning. Nevertheless, the disturbing but inescapable fact remains, that the actual fighting has ceased. In that sense, at least, the people have achieved Peace.

And the people do not like it. They have always been prepared to admit that Peace hath her heroes no less than war. As far as they were concerned, Peace could have them. The admission cost them nothing. But now they are making the uncomfortable discovery that Peace demandeth her sacrifices no less than war, also. And the demand is both severe and urgent. In the forefront of the sacrifices immediately demanded of the people is the sacrifice of some of their rations and a deal of their illusions in order to ease the distress of devastated Europe in general and of Germany in particular.

Now, if the war had not ended; if Hitler's armies and U-boats were at this moment making one last despairing effort; if the Allied line were dented and reeling and the merchantships were sinking; if, as a consequence, the people were told that they must accept reduced rations for a period of three months, or six months, or a year, or even longer; if all this were happening, it is probably true to say that the people would groan, and grumble, and tighten their belts, and accept the inevitable. As it is, many of them still refuse to regard the



# PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Stamford Hill 2262

All correspondence on other than editorial matters  
should be addressed to the Manager

## Where to begin?

A CAREFUL reading of the Commons debate on foreign policy prior to Mr. Attlee's departure to America leaves one very much in the dark as to what the policy of the Government really is. Probably it does not know itself, because the mind of the Cabinet is no more adjusted than other people's to the situation created by the atom-bomb. Since Mr. Attlee did not speak, and Mr. Bevin's speech was by no means a model of lucidity, we shall have to wait till Mr. Attlee has talked to President Truman to get any clear indication of what is to be attempted.

But two fairly clear policies were formulated in the debate. The first, advocated by a succession of Labour speakers, is to obtain the consent of U.S.A. to putting the "secret" in the hands of the Security Council of the United Nations, on condition that there is prior agreement that the Security Council shall control and have the right to inspect the process of manufacture everywhere. The Manchester Guardian interprets Mr. Bevin's own speech in this sense, in spite of his expressed scepticism of the efficacy of any machinery of control and inspection.

The New Statesman, on the contrary, interprets Mr. Bevin—quite as justifiably—as not dissenting from the policy rather cloudily advocated by Mr. Churchill. This policy, set forth in its lucid and logical form by Bertrand Russell in a forcible article in the Manchester Guardian, is that U.S.A. should retain the atomic secret, and on that basis invite all willing nations to enter into a defensive alliance, or rather league, of which U.S.A. should be the indisputable military and political head. In return for the assurance of her protection, her allies would undertake no policies which had not been discussed with and approved by her. Mr. Churchill would no doubt indignantly deny that he meant any such thing. But that is the logical end of the policy he advocates: and only if it is pressed to this logical end does it become a rational policy at all. In the form that Bertrand Russell presents

it, it does at least offer some chance of security.

The New Statesman denies this, and asserts that it must lead to World War III. That is not so certain. On the other hand the New Statesman is right in pointing to the inadequacy of the policy of entrusting the atom-secret alone to the U.N.O. Unless the policy is completed by making over all offensive armaments to U.N.O. it is difficult to see how it could work at all. Yet who can believe that either U.S.A. or Russia is prepared to do this? Is Britain herself yet ready to do it?

The dilemma is desperate. There must be a world-government. There cannot be a world-government.

Is it conceivable that, if the U.N.O. would agree to inter-national control of the atom-bomb, it would be the beginning of a world-government? It would need to grow quickly. Mere "control" of the atom-bomb alone would be a precarious and transitory situation. Just a little less precarious than the present one. But it might delay the beginning of the dreadful atomic armaments-race which now threatens mankind.

As our readers know, we have no great faith in U.N.O. But since it is the only instrument which exists by which the catastrophe of an atomic armaments race could be averted now, the attempt should be made to use it: that is to persuade U.S.A. and Russia to use it.

This is a crisis in which pacifism as such has no advice to give which will conceivably be heeded. Even if Britain were to disarm completely, she would still be the immediate victim of atomic war. That can only be securely prevented if there is mutual trust between the Big Three. Such trust cannot be created in a year: it must take many years to grow. But if it is to grow at all, a beginning must be attempted now.

## READERS' FORUM

### Effective deterrent

PROFESSOR E. M. OLIPHANT, the Atom Bomb expert, speaking recently in Birmingham is reported as saying:

"We have now come to an impasse where we have either got to get rid of war or face up to the fact that within a quarter of an hour of war being declared all the cities of this country or other countries engaged in war would be laid in ruins."

This is an expert opinion, based upon knowledge of the bomb's present and imminent possibilities and no one would be likely to quarrel with it, except to be a little sceptical of any future "declaration" of war. Pearl Harbour would seem more likely to be the future pattern when otherwise, by a declaration of war, a country would risk a desolation such as it intended to mete out to its enemy.

The Professor's solution to the impasse, however, is not so clear. He says:

"I think the only possible answer is to let us have a free interchange of technical information between all countries."

For what purpose? Presumably so that we may all be so terrified of each other that none of us will dare to attack the other.

That is hardly likely to be an effective deterrent when any one of us can utterly destroy the other in a few minutes, before there is even the remotest chance of retaliation. And if, as he further suggests, the manufacture or storing of atom-bombs be the prerogative of an international authority such as the United Nations (assuming they were and could remain united), what of the countries outside the scope of this authority? It is manifestly impracticable, as he previously implies, to prevent atomic bomb manufacture by inspecting everything all over the world.

It seems to me that the Professor's solution is, in fact, no solution at all. We must put it to the people of this island that, because of our utter vulnerability to this new weapon, our survival depends on an absolute renunciation of war and all preparation for it.

That, I fully realize, is putting an anti-war case at its lowest—the physical level: I make no apology for that. It is the only one, in my opinion, which has a chance of success in a short time, and we have only a short time in which to work if we are to avert complete disaster. If we could get the people of this country to reject war even at that level, we should have helped humanity to take a great step forward.

LEONARD I. SIDWELL.

2 Agricultural Cottage,  
Gt. Munden, Ware, Herts.

### Nothing to spare!

"Many well-meaning people in the Pacifist movement are feeling not a little disappointed at the lack of response to the appeal to forego part of their rations for the relief of starving Europe."

To the man in the street it appears to be

a move by middle-class people who feed in cafes and have the advantage of buying chickens and other food to supplement their rations. For the man who has to work for his living the rations are insufficient and most working-men eat at the expense of the wife and youngsters; and even this means too many bread and jam meals. Cafes and canteens are only available for a small proportion of the working-class and in most cases when these are available the worker cannot afford to use them.

Now if the suggestion had been that the Forces be put on civilian rations then everyone could see the common sense of it. If the suggestion had been that countries like Eire, Switzerland and Denmark—where the food situation is, if not actually normal, still far better than in England—should be given transport facilities to the worst areas again there is reasonableness in such a suggestion. A demand for the withdrawal of the armies of occupation would go a long way to relieving the food situation on the Continent. Armies of occupation if they do not live on the country devour a lot of foodstuffs in addition to their own supplies.

Military occupation—in fact Militarism—is the cause of the devastation and hunger in Europe. Armies destroy: that is their job. They are not taught to rebuild; that is why Europe instead of recovering is sinking, sinking into death. So long as half the adult male population of Europe is in prisoner-of-war camps and the other half guarding it then starvation will continue. Let the Peace movement demand the end of Military Government in Europe and the return of all prisoners of war so that each country may start its own rebuilding and eat the honest bread of industry and not the soured bread of charity.

CHRISTOPHER HILL.

3 Scrope Avenue,  
York.

### Honest criticism

For the first time in my life I read Peace News today. I have been in the Army for five-and-a-half years, one year of which I have spent on the Continent—France, Belgium, Holland—where to my astonishment I learned that there are good (and bad) people to be found everywhere.

Like so many others I am appalled at the state of world affairs in this atomic-age, after the most devilish war in history, and in despair I turned to pacifism as expounded in Peace News.

What do I find? Certainly much that is essentially Christian and humanitarian, but also a disturbing amount of anti-Sovietism which will sow seeds of distrust and, unless it is remedied, surely help to bring about another war. I think that Mr. S. J. Hayward in his letter (in your Nov. 2 issue) summarizes my feelings about this matter perfectly. Personally, I am profoundly disappointed with your "pacifism" and could almost be cynical and wonder whether "Observer" would remain a pacifist if and when this country finds itself at war with Russia.

(Cpl.) S. FAGAN.

1540526,

966 IWT. Op. Coy., RE.  
c/o GPO, Sandwich, Kent.

## Labour and the Dollar-sign

by JOHN SCANLON

LAST week I showed that Mr. Amery, a former ruler of Britain, was filled with what Mr. Churchill would call "grave apprehension." Mr. Amery's fears were that American interests would force on Britain a return to that old system of economics of which every Briton was supposed to be proud.

It is sad to think that even as late as 1929 Mr. Churchill was proudly claiming that practically all nations had adopted our system of finance. In 1937 Mr. Eden was asking Germany to return to our system. In 1939 Mr. Neville Chamberlain was saying our vast economic resources would make Germany so afraid that she would not go to war. Now, in 1945, Mr. Amery says all the economic doctrines of which we were so proud are a legend of mid-Victorian times. Moreover, he fears that Lord Keynes is going to accept the legend.

It must be apparent that the negotiations in Washington are on something much bigger than the question of giving an immediate loan to Britain. There are certain conditions attached. It is the conditions which are causing grave apprehension in certain Empire circles. In fact, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, a member of the last Government, says if Lord Keynes accepts the conditions he has sold the British Empire. What are the conditions, and can the Labour Government accept them? If they cannot accept them, what then? Let us see.

### Mr. Hull's policy

When it became apparent that the negotiations on lease-lend would be somewhat protracted, The Times Washington correspondent stated that the real issue was whether the British delegates would be able to adjust their trade policy to that of Mr. Cordell Hull.

That seems to be a precise statement of the case, but it is impossible

to follow the course of the negotiations unless we know what was, and is, that trade policy. In fact, many who voted Labour at the general election would be hard put to it to tell who Mr. Hull was, let alone what was his trade policy.

### Republican legacy

Cordell Hull was American Secretary for State in the Hoover Republican administration. He took part in the behind the scenes conferences of 1932 with the bankers, which produced the document for discussion at the World Economic Conference in 1933. When President Roosevelt was elected as a Democrat in November, 1932, he inherited the Republican Secretaries of State—Mr. Stimson and Mr. Cordell Hull.

From the time of his election gold began to trek back to London, and in May, 1933, Roosevelt had to prohibit the export of gold. By 1936, however, when German and Japanese barter trade swept the Latin Americas, the President saw the light, at least the light shed by Cordell Hull. Thus it was that in September, 1936, President Roosevelt issued much the same document to Germany as he himself had refused to sign in 1933. It is the same document which America is asking Lord Keynes to sign to-day.

Readers must note that when Britain was still under the impression that the old money-lending system could start all over again she sponsored the Cordell Hull policy. Mr. L. S. Amery says that American interests are urging abolition of exchange controls, Empire preferences and a general return to a single monetary system, etc. Mr. Amery will refuse to return to that system, which he says is mid-Victorian.

But, although Mr. Amery has already taken up the challenge of the American interests, he will not be ob-

liged to see it through. That task has been left to the Labour Government. It must accept or reject the Cordell Hull policy, clearly stated in a Treasury statement issued to the world in general, and to Germany in particular, on September 26, 1936. It stated that "a condition for safeguarding peace" was the "abandonment of exchange control without delay." Germany refused, unless other questions were considered, including the question of access to raw materials. A League of Nations Committee, which considered access to raw materials, said it was Germany's exchange control which prevented her buying raw materials. That was the deadlock. Hitler nationalised the Reichsbank, in order to prevent Dr. Schacht interfering with exchange control.

### Labour's dilemma

Can the Labour Government abandon exchange and currency control? Not unless it abandons all its published programme. For that is the Party's economic policy. Its financial programme says:

"The Labour Party is convinced of the need to form a National Investment Board with statutory powers for the control of domestic and foreign investment."

In fact, if we examine the Labour Party programme, we will find it is the complete autarky which Mr. Neville Chamberlain said, in 1940, we were fighting to destroy. So, without examining the implications of the Bretton Woods policy which Lord Keynes accepts, there are serious grounds of differences between a Socialist conception of economics and the abandonment of exchange controls, which is part of the Cordell Hull policy. We ought to take warning. For if all the anti-war sections had been fully informed in 1936 of the cleavage between Hitler's economics and our own, the last war might have been prevented. If we are wise we should begin now to prevent the next one.

### HOUSMAN'S

—new selection—

THE TRIAL—FRANZ KAFKA  
8s. 6d.

THE IDEA OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY  
T. S. Eliot, 5s.

A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS  
A YOUNG MAN  
James Joyce, 5s.

POEMS AND CONTRADICTIONS  
Rex Warner, 6s.

124 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1.

### Christmas Cards

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NOW READY

Pen-drawing and illuminated

quotation cards by

THOMAS B. PITFIELD

3d. each

READY LATER

Four colour woodcut by

M. G. TURBERVILLE

4d. each

ORDER FROM THE P P U

6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

### POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Home: quarterly, 8s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d.  
Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.



## NOW READ ON

"READING," says Bacon, "maketh a full man," full, that is, of knowledge and wisdom. And surely never more than at the present time has it been incumbent on all right-thinking men to acquaint themselves with the many desperately complicated problems which confront the nations of the world.

We claim to be a democracy, and democracy can succeed only when the people as a whole are able to exercise an intelligent control over their government, which they can do only insofar as they have knowledge of the problems and have decided in their own minds on at least the broad outlines of solution. More especially is it incumbent on all members of the PPU so to inform themselves; for they have a distinctive message to give to the world and it is only from the firm basis of acquaintance with the facts that they can hope to persuade others to accept that message.

Up till recently it has, perhaps, not been easy for members, especially those living outside the large towns, to know exactly where to find any required information. There has, it is true, been a Library at Dick Sheppard House for years, but as no catalogue of its contents was available except at the Library itself, only those who could consult it there knew what books were available. A year ago, however, a Catalogue was prepared and printed in which the titles were arranged, not only under authors' names with brief notes of the contents of the more important books, but also under subject headings. This was distributed to every group and contact member so that there is now no excuse for ignorance of what the Library contains. Copies of this Catalogue are still available (price 9d.).

During the year since then large additions have been made of books carefully selected to represent the best contemporary thought on as many aspects of the problems as possible and a Supplement (price 3d.) has just been issued.

The response to the distribution of the Catalogue has, I am sorry to say, been most disappointing. The requests for books have been pitifully few, especially from the country members whom it was intended especially to benefit. I do, therefore, urge all members to make fuller use of the material available. Books are issued in the first instance for a fortnight, but they will be renewed without question unless meanwhile some other member has made application for the same book.

It is up to members to see that the reproach no longer holds good that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light, and the means to do so are there at their disposal.

A. K. JAMESON.

### "I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

#### ALDERMAN LEE

Rev. Richard Lee, a member of PPU National Council, has been elected an Alderman of the Coventry City Council.

# German P.O.W.s still need help

NEARLY 1000 books and a varied selection of musical instruments have been received as a result of the recent appeal in Peace News for gifts for German prisoners of war.

One of the first donors was Ethel Mannin. A Rotarian who had been sending books to dominion prisoners of war in Germany arranged for those destined for men now repatriated to be sent to German prisoners instead. One gift comprised a library of 200 books.

The musical instruments include several harmoniums, violins, cellos, flutes, mandolins and guitars. Gramophones and records have been sent; so have woodcarving tools, artists' materials, wood, felt and leather.

Rev. J. C. S. Chamberlain, Vicar of Christ Church, Shooter's Hill, who earlier on was sent rat poisoning because he appealed in his Parish Magazine on behalf of German P.O.W.s locally, has given a harmonium and £30, the residue of the donations he then received.

The need is still very great. There are about 300,000 prisoners in the country, and many are likely to be here for some time. The supply of books, musical instruments and occupational materials by no means meets the demand. Theological and medical students are allowed to continue their studies, and works on theology and medicine are particularly welcome.

There is still much that Groups can do corporately in collecting articles. Gifts should be sent to the Aliens' Section, F.R.S., Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury St., W.C.1. The authorities stipulate that all markings on books should be removed.

## LAND AND RELIGION

The Land, The People and the Churches. — A production of the British Council of Churches. The S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 2s 6d, 94 pp.

THIS brochure is a Report of an inquiry undertaken by a group set up by the British Council of Churches. It is the outcome of three years' inquiry. The Group was representative of the Church of England and of all the Free Churches. Its first task was to discover persons and groups sufficiently interested in the improvement of rural life to answer a questionnaire. 115 replies were received from 30 English Counties, three-quarters of which came from groups of people who gave much time to the task. These replies form the basis of the Report now published. Separate inquiries were undertaken in Scotland and in Wales.

The report is divided into three sections. Part I gives the factual and historical background and describes the main changes which have come to the countryside during the last 150 years. Part II describes the churches and their work. Part III gives a very full account of the agencies and institutions which exist in rural areas and may be made use of for the development and enrichment of country life, and especially by the churches. It also gives numerous suggestions and recommendations.

Behind the Report and inspiring much of its contents is a fervent recognition that religion should have a comprehensive social content, and should be a major agency for providing the spiritual cement by which rural society may become organic and integrated.

It recognises that in the course of the last centuries the countryside has been bereft of one function after another, one industry after another, one value after another, until it has reached a condition of spiritual disintegration. The vital importance of restoring these lost functions and values in the national interest as well as that of the countryside is strongly stressed. The churches and all Christians who are in any way connected with rural life are asked to face and accept the responsibility for which this parlous situation calls. This attempt to resolve the social problem to basic values is greatly to be welcomed.

I hope that the British Council of Churches will now undertake an inquiry into "Industrialism, the People and the Churches." A fuller realisation of the values that have been lost in urban areas as the result of Industrialism would, together with the present inquiry, produce recommendations of an even more far-reaching character than those embodied in this Report, which are themselves far-reaching and will, I hope, become widely known.

W. W.

## Films of quality

I WENT to the Academy Cinema, London, with no thought of reviewing the programme, but was so struck by the exceptional quality of the main films that I feel it worth while to draw the attention of readers to them.

"Strange Incident" is, for Hollywood, an astonishingly truthful film. Its deliberately slow, detailed build-up of the lynching of three innocent men, by a self-constituted illegitimate posse of "westerners" in 1885, is a harrowing but profoundly moving experience.

Towards the end of this tragic story, one of the minority who had stood out against the irretrievable act of lawless impetuosity reads to the others, as they lean in dazed silence over the saloon counter, a last letter written by one of the hanged men to his wife. Spoken in low, half-broken tones, this dissertation on conscience, law and humanity, written by a man who knew he was shortly to die unjustly to satisfy the blood-lust of ordinary men, forms one of the noblest and most inspiring sequences ever recorded. "Marie-Louise," a Swiss film, also has its roots in the sometimes barren-seeming soil of human conscience. In some of the most vivid air-raid sequences I have seen, the impact of "total" war on children is conveyed with tremendous emotional thrust. But the film suffers from a lack of single-mindedness; the subsidiary theme of spoiling a child by too much kindness tends to swamp the main theme, that of rescuing children for a time and then sending them back to their parents—and the bombs. Sentimentality is not absent in the final stages of the story, which ends on a speciously happy note, jil-matched with the facts. Nevertheless, the film is far above the average in our cinemas and worth going a long way out of one's way to see.

W. H. GELDER.

## "The real Jewish problem"

The November Peace News pamphlet, which will be published with next week's issue (price 1d., plus postage), will be by the Rev. James Parkes, and called "The Real Jewish Problem." It will supplement his earlier PN pamphlet "A Problem for the Gentiles," and discuss not the special difficulties of anti-semitism, but the problems which Jews have to face to maintain the tradition and well-being of their race.

# CECIL WILSON

CECIL H. WILSON, who passed away very peacefully on the night of November 7, was one whose patient and steadfast work and witness for the cause of peace and for social and political justice have put very many in his debt. He had given years of useful work in the service of his fellow citizens as a member of the Sheffield City Council before his election in 1922 as a Labour Member of Parliament for the Attercliffe division of Sheffield. In Parliament he won the esteem and respect of his fellow members. He did not speak frequently in the House of Commons, but was willing to do so courageously at the call of duty on behalf of an unpopular cause in which he believed profoundly.

For years he acted as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Proportional Representation Society, holding that democratic government must be based on justice to all sections of the community, even those with whom he most strongly disagreed. But naturally he was especially concerned, when the National Service Acts became law, to see that justice should be done to conscientious objectors who had so often to face adverse public opinion, especially in the early years of the war.

He acted as convener of the small group of members, not all of them pacifists, who were concerned to secure justice for their fellow citizens. He continued this service unflinchingly until failing health led to his resigning his seat in Parliament in 1944. This involved the giving of time and thought to difficult individuals cases, interviews with Ministers of the Crown and correspondence with Government Departments, as well as sometimes direct parliamentary action. Many have good reason to be thankful for his faithful service.

T. EDMUND HARVEY.

Frank Dawtry writes: Though always uncompromising in his pacifism, he (like Arthur Ponsonby, who sat for the neighbouring division) represented an industrial constituency in the East End of Sheffield, and it was a tribute to his sincerity that he got the votes of men engaged in the armaments industry.

His life and work were of the nature we should hope for from any pacifist—he was primarily the servant of his neighbours and a beloved servant, too. There are many stories of his help and shelter to men persecuted by the law in the days of the 1914-18 war. His experiences and convictions at that time led him into the Society of Friends, from an old Congregational family, and into the ILP from deep Liberal roots.

In the years between the wars he never wavered in his encouragement and support for the "old" ILP, the No More War Movement and later the Peace Pledge Union.

## Words of Peace—No. 150

"Ye hypocrites. Are these your pranks?"

To murder men and give God thanks! Desist for shame! Proceed no further. God won't accept your thanks for murder."

—Robert Burns.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 63 extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### ACCOMMODATION

REQUIRED BY C.O. wife and baby acmdn. with gdn. anywhere South Coast. Cdn. immaterial as applicant carpenter. A. Findlater, 4 St. Peter's Rd., Edmonton, N.9.

HAPPY COMFORTABLE acmdn. in London flat for companionship and help. Box 198.

C.O. 27, requ. unfurn. rms. or lodgings within 3 miles Notting Hill. Freeman, Markfield Rd., Groby, Leicester.

COUPLE WISH to rent hse., etgce. or unfurn. acmdn. Pref. Worcester, Glos., Herefords. Anywhere considered. Barton, W.L.A. Hostel, Ross-on-Wye.

PACIFIST BUSINESS woman requ. unfurnshd. acmdn. self-contained flat or part hse., London or Home Counties. Box 177.

SUNSHINE IN winter in lovely Devon valley. Reduced trms. for winter mths. 2 guineas weekly. Perry, Gara Hill, Slapton, Kingsbridge.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

### EDUCATIONAL

SYNOPSIS PIANO FORTE playing personal privte. tuition. Write The Bernard Wellsbury Studio, 14 Hanover St. (Oxford Circus), W.1.

FREEMOUNT SCHOOL, Bacton, Hereford. Individual tuition, varied activities, free expression, communal home. Intelligent children (temperamentally difficult, helped to balanced development in ideal surroundings. Katherine and Peter Young, M.A.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 6s. classes 1s. 6d. Diffident, nervous, and hesitant people specially helped, also stammerers. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

BROOKHOUSE SCHOOL, Felixstowe. Boys from 7 yrs. accepted and trained to School Certificate Standard. Bracing air, good food, happy Christian fellowship. Inclusive trms. £90 per year.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

NR. HARLESTON, Norfolk, 50 acres of land (11 old pasture), extensive outbuilds, and tiled barn. Mod. milking hse. for 4. Railway coach make good living bungalow also gypsy caravan included. Price £1,400 substantial mortgage if requ. immediate possession. Med. heavy tender land. Box 184.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

STAMP COLLECTORS. "The Asgard" detector will find the most obscure Watermarks. Sent on approval, money refunded in full if dissatisfied. Send P.O. 3s. inclusive of packing, post free (Trade enqs. invited). D.C.A., 9 High St., Barnstable.

WANTED COLLECTION of films: 9.5 mm. Bradshaw, 124 Highbury New Park.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons, clean, clear, enduring. All correctly spooled. 30s. 6d. doz., 18s. 6d. six. 10s. 6d. three, 3s. 6d. each, postge. pd. Please remember to name models, colours, "Peace News." Martin Hardman, 15 Prospect Pkce., Preston.

FOR SALE large Hornby set with accessories. Gauge 0 clockwork, 2 engines, £20. Phone: Can. 3875.

### LITERATURE, &c.

COLLECTORS, DEALERS. Distributors literature reqd. to buy for resale collection amateur magazines, books, manuscripts, sample pages of books to come. New edn. Price 10s. worth £1. Write Author, 8 Mill St., Cambridge.

FREEMASONRY exposed by Rev Penny Hunt, B.A., 100-page bk. containing numerous quotes from masonic literature; 2s. 8d. from Sec. Book Club, 21 Poplar Gve., New Malden.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

LONDON FORUM: Public Lecture. G. H. Bantock on "L. H. Myers and Personal Relationships." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, Nov. 19 at 7.30.

YOU ARE invited to a bring and buy sale at 3 p.m. on Sat., Nov. 24, at Friends Mtg. Hse., High Wycombe. Stuart Morris will spk. on the War Resisters' International at 4.30 p.m.

METHODIST PEACE Fellowship Rally 6.30 p.m. Nov. 21, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Spkr: Rev. Dr. Donald O. Soper, M.A. "The Place of M.P.E. in the Methodist Church." Chairman: Mr. J. G. Stirk, M.I.Mech.E.

CHELTENHAM. Public Mtg., Co-operative Hall, Swindon Rd., Fri., Nov. 23, 7.30 p.m. Spkr: Stuart Morris, "The Truth about Europe."

LIVERPOOL. "Save Europe Now." Wed., Nov. 23, 7 p.m. Vera Brittain at Central Hall, Renshaw St. Poster-Parade, Sat., Nov. 24. Meet in Islington Sq., 2.45 p.m. (Merseyside European Food Relief Committee.)

STREATHAM P.P.U. "Save Europe Now." Minnie Pallister, Roy Walker, Ernest Fogg, chair. St. Leonard's Church Hall, 8 p.m., Wed., Nov. 21. Buses 49, 59, 115, 118, 133, 159. Trams 8, 10, 16, 18, 20. Tube Trinity Rd. then 49 bus S.R. station Streatham.

FREDRICK LOHR spks. every Fri. evening at 7.15, the Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster.

### PERSONAL

URGENTLY NEEDED for examination 20 "Pride and Prejudice." Any ndn. State price. Box 194.

CRISPIN HALES, a rebel, was born on Sat., Oct. 27. Greetings from Margaret and Sammy at The Gants Hill Press, Ilford.

FRIENDSHIPS CONFIDENTIALLY formed. For parties, send s.a.e. to Friendship Bureau, 55 Lynwood Dve., Romford, Essex.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Parties, stamp. Sec. PN, 19 Ty Pyr Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

P.S.U. PERSONNEL urgently needed. Church development, club and community centre wrk. on rehousing estate. Girls' Leader, Senior open mixed club. Also part-time voluntary helpers. P.S.U., 49 Kentwell Close, Honor Oak Estate, S.E.4.

COMPANION AND domestic help, Christian pacifist, abstainer, non-smoker. Age 16-52; two in family, bedrm. and privte sittingrm., varied interests, home-like atmosphere; state sal. in addn. to full brd. and rms; might consider man (part-time) and wife. Box 195.

COMPETENT Shorthand - Typist with knowledge of filing and office routine reqd. immediately. Age 20-25. Write stating quals., exp. and sal. reqd. with photo, if possible, to War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

GIRL To help in small modern hse. nr. Bolton. Plenty of free time. Write for parties. Box 193.

OPPORTUNITY INTELLIGENT girl about 20 help generally in small coed home-school. Good scope ideas, initiative and communal life, start immediately. Photo, details to Freemount, Bacton, Herefordshire.

WANTED married couple. Husband some gdnng. exp. ability milk hse. cow advantage. Wife help in hse. 3 hrs. dly. Nice furnshd. etgce., free milk and £4 10s. 6d. per wk. Norfolk-Suffolk borders. Box 185.

BUILDING TRADESMEN (only) requ. for bomb damage reprs. in North and South London. Stewart and Richards, Ltd. and Shand (Builders), Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Ave., N.W.5. (Gul. 2065.)

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED WEEKEND FARM wrk. within cycling distance of London sought by C.O. engaged in East End social service. Free all Sat. and Sun. Gen. exp. and machine-mkng. Employment Sect., C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

BAKERY MANAGER; suitably registered C.O. seeks wrk. as manager of small bakery 30-mile radius, London. At present employed as foreman baker. Suggestions please to C.B.C.O. Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

BOYS' SOCIAL Worker desires change (27, uncond. ex. C. of E.). Pres. position supervisor at Boys' Hme. Keen desire to place exp. and wide knowledge of boys to their service in any interesting position requiring responsibility, energy and understanding. Highest refs. Box 196.

PACIFIST (37) requ. school (vegetable) gdn. wrk. immediately. 4 yrs. similar wrk. Johnson, 50 Belsize Ave., N.W.3.

DUPLICATING—large or small quantities by experts; Lists, Letters, Notices, Programmes, Magazines, Manuscripts, Bulletins, etc., etc. Stamp brings prompt quotn. for your requ. Write: BM/FTLV, London, W.C.1.

### MISCELLANEOUS

C.O., 29, seeks post as warden of Youth Hostel or similar wrk. where initiative and intelligence can be used. South Coast preferred. Box 197.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders books, prepares Profit and Loss Accounts, Balance Sheets and Income Tax Returns. Company formations arranged. Audits and costing undertaken. Box 96.



## Offer to a Russophile Observer

### 'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

occupied with their trivial round that they cannot speak to one another with the simplicity of representatives of the human race threatened with unimaginable disaster? Do they really think that because their nation-states have precariously survived the bloody insanity of this war, they must survive the next, and all they have to do is struggle for positions which will give them the chance of victory?

### Illusions - or a new language

ONE reads Truman's speech, one reads Molotov's speech: to reach but one sorry conclusion—that both are ignorant, blind and foolish men, buoyed up to bravado by the sheep-like conviction that their particular nations will once more muddle through—through the universal devastation they are doing nothing to avert. Russia will make herself safe; America will make herself safe. A British statesman should at least be free of that insane illusion. Another world-war means one certain thing—the entire destruction of Britain.

Let Attlee be wise and simple enough to say that openly, and base whatever appeal he makes to Truman or Stalin on that plain admission. That would bring some cleansing light of humility and reality into the fog of suspicion and false confidence and downright chicanery by which the relations of the great powers of the world are being obscured. Let the spokesman of Britain speak the plain truth—that in the world in which atomic war is possible Britain is utterly vulnerable, and that she longs to be secure. Will America help us to that security? Will Russia? What price do they demand?

In speaking thus, Attlee would be speaking a new language: but a language which all the nations of the world—except the colossi—would recognise for their own. And, who knows? Perhaps the colossi themselves would respond to it.

### What would satisfy Russia?

DO the rulers of the Russian state still believe (as they certainly used to do) that war between a Communist and Capitalist society is inevitable? If so, there is nothing to be done. If they do not, how do they think that war can be avoided? Is it not time that they themselves put forward some constructive idea? The present British government would go more than half-way to meet them. But nobody knows what Russia wants. Very definite suggestions of what we should do are put forward by our Russophiles—for example, by Mr. Zilliacus in a broadcast discussion.

(1) Share the atomic bomb secret with Russia. (2) Recognize the regimes in Eastern Europe. (3) International control of Japan and United Nations bases in the Far East. (4) International control of communications in and out of the Mediterranean.

Some Interesting Articles  
in the

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

Austerity for Exports—the Reason Why? Trade Union Dissensions in Eire! Cripps's Appeal to Bolster Capitalism! Communists Denounced Nationalisation but now support it! Order from Smith's Bookstalls

Or send 3d. stamps today  
THE SOCIALIST STANDARD (Dept. P.11)  
2 Rugby Street, London, W.C.2

## A CATHOLIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF WAR

The PAX Symposium is now ready, and copies may be obtained from Mrs. Britton, 18 Beech Road, Langley, Bucks, price 1s. Contributors are: Hubert Grant Scarfe (editor), Eric Gill, Dr. W. E. Orchard, Rev. Dr. Albert Gille, Dr. Cecil Gill (Chairman of Pax), Stormont Murray, J. M. Walsh, Walter Shewring and Mark FitzRoy; and the contributions cover all the aspects of those fundamental principles for which PAX stands.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Oxford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

It is rather one-sided. But that is not the point. The point is that no-one has the faintest idea whether Russia would be satisfied with these things.

### The deceptive phrase

AND even if she were "satisfied," would it make any real difference to the situation? What, for example, is the meaning of "international control" of this and that—so glibly propounded by Mr. Zilliacus—when the "international controls" which have actually been created have broken down everywhere. The actual international control of Germany and Austria is an evil caricature of what honest men mean by the phrase. One single example of international control really working today would be impossible to find.

The necessity of the new human relationships—and these between nations—of which Mr. Attlee speaks stares us in the face. But the chance of establishing them seems terribly remote. We are told that the British soldiers who have contact with the Russians are conceiving a deep hostility to them. We are warned that the American soldier is finding anything not American increasingly distasteful. "There is said to be a growing tendency to lump the French, the British, the Russians, Poles and Czechs all together, to be discarded when the ship docks at home," says the American correspondent of the Economist (Nov. 10).

### New Epiphany of Man?

A DELIBERATE and sustained effort of the human will and imagination at the highest level of statesmanship is required to check this deadly process of the deterioration of human relations.

This is clean beyond the scope of diplomacy. (Anyhow even the machinery of diplomacy has now broken down.) What is required is the voice of conscious Humanity—Man become aware of his danger and his folly, his cunning and his corruption. And when we have said that, we smile wryly at our own irresponsible aspiration and our childish naivety. When have men listened to the voice of Man?

Now the radios of all the world are blaring the insanities of a maddened nationalism, or a crazy ideological murder-feud, for which the simplest effort towards voluntary co-operation between nations is the diabolical machination of "Fascist beasts." The world has been "liberated" from Hitlerism—into what freedom? The freedom of a death-paroxysm. Surely, the miracle must happen, and man be awakened from his frenzy by a new epiphany of Man.

### What would you do, comrade?

THE question that is always left in my mind by the letters which attack me for my attitude to Russia is: What would they themselves write on the subject if they were in my place? One puts me fairly on the spot by telling me to be more certain that I "know the mind of God" when writing about Russia. Since he evidently does know it—whereas I am sure that I do not—he lets me down by not communicating some of his knowledge to me, so that I could pass it on.

Others simply rebuke me for my anti-Soviet bias. Since (as I have said before) I am not conscious of having any, I am quite unable to correct it unaided. So I invite the aid, and make an offer.

Let anyone of my critics put himself in my place this weekend, write me 1,500 words of Commentary for me, and send them so as to reach me by first post on Monday morning Nov. 19. He will comment (of course, on one side of the paper only) upon what seem to him the outstanding events of the week from an attitude which combines pacifism with a greater fairness to Russia, than I am capable of. Provided it comes up to the standards of competent journalism, the best of these commentaries shall be printed in place of my own and paid for accordingly.

I shall be very eager indeed to read it; so (I expect) will be my adversaries—and my friends.

Like Rosa Dantle, "I really want to know" what Sovietophil pacifism looks like when it is embodied in positive thoughts and words, and not confined to negative reactions to my own thoughts and words.

## A Phoenix?

"A pacifist movement cannot have social significance if it is based on what action the individual will (or will not) take if war comes. Pacifists must seek their real opportunities in time of relative peace."

Making this assessment of the pacifist's position today, a manifesto issued by the Phoenix Group, over the signature of a number of well-known PPU members, asserts that "the movement that became the Peace Pledge Union has come to a stop."

In answering its title-question: "What Are You Going To Do About It Now?" the manifesto argues that pacifists must engage in practical work that contributes to the peace of society—"serving their apprenticeship as peacemakers by accepting special responsibility for the reconstruction of British society on a new and peaceful basis."

A "Provisional Pledge," based on the Four Affirmations, is included.

Signatories of the manifesto, which is published from 141 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, include: George Davies, John Middleton Murry, Donald Port, Dennis Davis, Frank Dawtry, Dr. Donald Soper, Lady Dorothy Mayer and James Avery Joyce.

## CONSCRIPT CITIZENS

CITIZENSHIP AND CONSCRIPTION. Leyton Richards. No Conscript Council. 3d.

This is a good statement of the traditional case against conscription on democratic and religious ground. Only in the introduction does Mr. Richards mention the atom-bomb as making nonsense of large conscript armies, yet this technical question is likely to be a main issue with present public opinion. Even conscript armies will not be large enough if—against present indications—the Big Three—or More really set out to police the world. The problem seems to be whether "peace" is to become war as we used to know it, and war merely the final catastrophe of obliteration. If a plausible case for preventive action can be made it is likely to carry conscription along with it. If no such case can be made, sullen despair threatens to take the edge off a great deal of enlightened propaganda. When in doubt, build a large army. The tradition may prove a strong one, if politics remain empty of hope or reason. A. C. S.

## Laval versus de Gaulle

TO THE EDITOR

IT must be hoped that the reader who protested recently against what he called "your defence of Laval" will have learnt something from what Niven wrote below about Laval's trial. You but stated that Laval had not had a fair trial—the lying judge who himself, during the occupation, had carried out Laval's orders and now condemned him for having given these orders; the partial jury who continually insulted and interrupted the accused; the indecent haste of the executioners, anxious as they were to close Laval's mouth before the election; and finally the cantankerous de Gaulle who sent the unhappy man to his death out of personal spite.

De Gaulle only came to power because Churchill needed a French puppet government in London to authorize his wanton attack on Oran. De Gaulle, avid for power, was only too ready to give his consent. Thereby, he became responsible for the murder of 1000 French sailors. Churchill will have had ample reason to regret his foolish choice, for de Gaulle became a pain in the neck to him ever afterwards.

As Observer rightly says: "Yet de Gaulle will probably go on faute de mieux, and so will the decline of France." What does it matter? For the sake of his personal ambition it is all the same to this heartless schemer whether a thousand Frenchmen are sacrificed or France is humiliated by the undignified spectacle of a man, just saved from a death by poison, dragged to the shooting stake.

Laval loved France. If he acted foolishly, don't forget that he dared to raise his voice when Daladier committed the infinitely greater foolishness of going to war with a nation with which France had no quarrel at the time, simply at our bidding.

It is too early to judge, but it may well be that later when passions will have calmed down the tempestuous Laval—who by the way was exuberantly praised in England before the Hoare-Laval treaty—will come off far better in the pages of history.

Allow me for the sake of historical truth

## Ministry may amend C.O.s' Release Bill

SYMPATHETIC approval was expressed on all sides when the National Service (Release of Conscientious Objectors) Bill was given its second reading on Friday last.

The Minister of Labour explained its general principle—that CO's should be released from civilian conditions after the release of all ranks in the Army group to which they would have belonged if called up. The actual date would be from four to six weeks later.

Three points of criticism were made by Mr. R. W. Sorensen and others:

- 1, the postponement of release so long as any officers in the corresponding Army group were retained for special services;
- 2, the four to six weeks' time lag;
- 3, the absence of special provision for COs of special knowledge or skill, such as doctors, analogous to "Class B" releases.

Mr. Ness Edwards (the Parliamentary Secretary) hinted at amendments to meet the last two points, but offered no concession on the first, remarking that officers retained in Germany will "feel aggrieved enough as it is."

Major Basil Nield (Con., Chester) made a strong appeal for earlier release of members of the FAU who had served as volunteers before their calling-up date. "I do not think," he said, "that any fighting soldier would hesitate to pay tribute to these men." In some cases they had spent several years as prisoners of war and only appeared before Tribunals after release, so that it would be unjust to count their service from that date.

Mr. Edwards promised sympathetic consideration for men who had been prisoners, but said there were difficulties in granting to other volunteers concessions denied to Army men who served "prior to enlistment," what even that may mean.

to ask M. Lecuyer to explain: (1) How, when and why did the French realize "that collaboration (with Germany) was nothing but a dupery"?

(2) What is the meaning of his "therefore" after the unproved statement that Laval at least (he cleverly there drops Petain, as you may note) never had the confidence of France during the occupation?

(3) Your statement "the notion that France as a whole resisted or had the will to resist is a fantasy" he calls entirely wrong. Why? Compared with Norway, with Holland even, it is widely accepted that France—especially in the first years—did very little; that the Apaches of Paris, for British gold, greedily started the movement, with the help of Frenchmen sent over for this purpose from England. Exactly as, for a few Jouis, they would have committed any crime, as now it became all at once "patriotism." That many real patriots gradually joined them, like those who succeeded in escaping from slave labour in Germany is true. But the movement was never popular—in fact, the French peasant who had hoarded money all the time, was very angry when the Germans had to go. And so bad was the treatment of the slave labourer in Germany that, in spite of bombing and misery, thousands of them now refuse to return to France. Finally, Laval could hardly be called a pacifist, but, as he wished to stabilize France's position, it may be that in his opinion the sending of these men to Germany was the best way to bring peace to Europe.

Both Petain and Laval believed in Hitler's power. Supposing that USA had not been dragged into the war and Hitler had not attacked Russia, would England ever have beaten Germany?

The last word has not been spoken in this matter, but it may well be that even Hitler's regime would have been more preferable to Europe as a whole—even to England—than the present chaotic condition, of which as yet the end is not even in sight.

TOM EVERARD.

## "From War Resistance to Creative Pacifism"

Weekend Conference  
at Cambridge, Sat. and Sun., Nov. 24-25.  
begins 3.30 p.m. at Friends Meeting House  
Speakers: ERIC SWIFT, RENE HORWOOD, LEO HUGHMAN

Social, Concert and CO's Reunion

★  
AREA COUNCIL MEETING  
SUNDAY, 2 p.m.

All pacifists welcome. Details, Frank Sayer, 88 Chapel Field Road, Norwich

## Save Europe from Starvation

ALL - PARTY MEETING AT THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL

Monday, November 26, 7 p.m.

CHAIRMAN: THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

SPEAKERS:

Robert Boothby, M.P.  
Clement Davies, K.C., M.P.  
Michael Foot, M.P.  
Victor Gollancz

T. L. Horabin, M.P.  
Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.  
Lt.-Col. Rees-Williams, M.P.  
Sir Arthur Salter, M.P.

R. R. Stokes, M.P.

Some free seats at the door; reserved tickets (1s. each) write (with remittance) to Mrs. Duff, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2